

New York Tribune.

First to Last—the Truth: News—Editorials—Advertisements.

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Mr. Wilson's German Policy.

Elsewhere on this page to-day, THE Tribune prints various comments on a recent editorial discussing Mr. Wilson's German policy. Several of these, as well as other letters, have asked for a further statement of THE Tribune's view. With this request THE Tribune cheerfully complies.

The German-American difficulty grew out of the German note proclaiming its submarine "blockade" of Great Britain, which was issued in the first week of February, and was justified as an act of reprisal against the British for alleged violations by them of international law to the detriment of Germany.

When this "blockade" was proclaimed there were open to the American government two courses. The blockade itself was no blockade under any previous convention describing blockades. It constituted an infringement of the rights of all neutrals, and the United States, like all other neutrals, was fully justified in protesting against it and resisting it to the uttermost. Thus the natural course of the Administration was to send a note to Germany protesting against the blockade and informing her that it would neither be recognized nor tolerated.

But this course carried with it an obvious danger. If Germany believed it more important to her interests to continue the blockade with its injuries to Great Britain than to pay attention to the American admonition, then the United States would be obliged to make good its protest by actual force or else submit to a complete and humiliating rebuff. By protesting the United States would take the field as the champion of the neutral rights of the world, but no championship could be without the very grave risk of subsequent war with Germany.

On the other hand, if Mr. Wilson believed that his country desired peace at any price, he could reach an easy solution by making only the mere formal protest against the blockade, which would leave the United States on record against the invasion of its rights, and then agree to a *modus vivendi* with Germany, insuring the safety of ships flying the American flag which travelled the war zone. Such an agreement Germany was at all times ready to make, and at no time has she molested an American passenger ship or declined to make good the loss incident to any attack upon an American merchant ship.

The second course was patently injurious. It would have invited much criticism from the portion of the country which believed that it was the duty of the government to defend unquestioned rights. THE Tribune would unhesitatingly have opposed such a course, because it is not of the peace-at-any-price persuasion, but such a course would have been safe. Followed by a proclamation by the President, similar to that issued in the case of Mexico warning Americans to keep off belligerent ships, there would have been eliminated the peril of such incidents as the Lusitania, the Arabic, the Orduna, the Hesperian, if the latter was sunk by a submarine.

But Mr. Wilson could not make up his mind to commit himself to either course unreservedly. He began by sending the "strict accountability" note. This was all right, if he meant it. But he was told in Cabinet meeting that the note would mean a grave situation, if Germany disregarded it, and that if such a note was to be sent then steps should be taken to make it good. But the view that prevailed was that Germany would not dare to defy the United States, because of her other difficulties, and that it was safe to take a high tone with Berlin because Berlin was helpless and must submit.

In a word, there was dispatched to Berlin a note which was, under the circumstances, only a gigantic bluff, for both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan were committed to the notion that the country desired to be kept out of war at any cost. They were enamored of the idea that by speaking firmly, without ever meaning to make good their words, they would avoid all danger. And every pro-German agent in Washington knew that the "strict accountability" note was a bluff and that the Administration was taking no steps to back up its words, if necessary.

Then Germany sunk the Lusitania. She rightly gauged the weakness that was behind the words of the President. Had the President meant the words there was no course left to him but, having allowed Germany her chance to disavow, to break off relations. "Strict accountability" was the last word that could be spoken; it was the extreme of language to express the idea that it meant to express, if it meant to express anything. But Mr. Wilson did not think of breaking off; he thought of getting out of the scrape without war.

For now there depended upon him all

the politicians, spurred by the pro-German propagandists. These informed him that to break with Germany meant not merely a political disaster, the loss of the country in 1916, but internal revolution. Dire prophecies of German propagandist violence were brought to him. He was solemnly assured by ever increasing multitudes that the country, apart from a thin slice along the Atlantic seaboard, desired peace at any price.

Never having intended to take strong action, Mr. Wilson listened readily to this warning and began that long series of weak and wabbling notes with the "omit no word or act" message. Mr. Bryan, evidently fearing that Germany and Austria might take umbrage at this, privately assured the Austrian Ambassador of what was the truth, that the words were not meant, that the President was in a political hole at home and was trying to get out. In the same fashion the propagandists all over the country were informed that under no circumstances would there be a break with Germany.

But Germany, also being in the know, saw no reason to interrupt her attack upon British ships. She had punctured the bluff of the "strict accountability" note. She had disclosed to her satisfaction the fact that the extreme of Mr. Wilson's intention in the direction of protecting American honor or American lives was to write notes, and Berlin was prepared to put just as much attractive rhetoric and appealing moral discourse into notes as would be necessary to meet Mr. Wilson's several contributions.

Now, so far as Mr. Wilson and the German government were concerned here was a situation that might have gone on indefinitely. But there was one grave difficulty. A certain fraction of the American public had believed that from the outset Mr. Wilson meant to assert and to defend American rights. Many newspapers, of which THE Tribune was one, had rallied to the support of the Administration in a time of international crisis because they believed that party lines should end at the water's edge in such a time. These newspapers represented a certain fraction of American public opinion.

And this fraction of American opinion viewed with utter amazement the failure of Mr. Wilson to make good his words. They saw with rising indignation one German incident after another, which led only to notes. What was still graver was that other groups of citizens, who had before paid little attention to the affair, began to believe that while Mr. Wilson was patently trying to persuade the Germans the Germans were ruthlessly insulting American officials and brutally murdering American citizens.

In a word, as always happens in such cases, the long protraction of international difficulties began to create a strong anti-German sentiment based on the notion that Germany was deliberately affronting the United States. This was not the fact. Germany was proceeding on her own way; she was not invading American rights more than those of Holland or Sweden, or any neutral. She was not trying to make an issue with the United States. But she had been convinced by Mr. Wilson's course that under no circumstances would he take drastic steps, and she was prepared to endure verbal castigations as the price of destroying British ships.

Unhappily for Mr. Wilson popular sentiment continued to rise until the Arabic incident brought him face to face with a real home crisis. He could not write more notes, because he was now aware that the people would not stand for them. The politicians and the pro-German propagandists were just as insistent upon peace as ever, but as influential a fraction of public sentiment now insisted that there be an end to a policy which permitted Germany to murder Americans with impunity. It was at this point that Count von Bernstorff intervened with his promise.

The German Ambassador intervened because he perceived that the decision no longer rested with Mr. Wilson, that public sentiment had reached such a pitch that Mr. Wilson would have to break off with Germany and was preparing to do it. He saw that which Berlin could not see, that the time had passed when it was possible to bank upon Mr. Wilson's weakness and the influence of the politicians. He saw that the only hope of avoiding a break now was concession by Germany. The Tribune believes that it was the recognition of this situation that determined his action and that it was sincere, not sincere because of any liking for America, but because he believed his own government was headed for a war it did not desire.

That is the German affair, as THE Tribune sees it. A weak, shifty, evasive, timorous course, begun with brave words that were without the smallest meaning in fact, continued by wabbling and procrastination because the brave words had led to a crisis that only courage could face, finally the drifting into a situation in which only the desire of the German government to avoid war with us could make peace possible.

By this policy Mr. Wilson deceived the German government, not into the belief that he meant to defend international law or American lives, but in the belief that no outrage, no invasion of American rights would lead to any more serious consequences than further drafts upon the dictionary. But at the same time he deceived his own people, who in part, at least, believed his first note had been sincere and that with patience but with persistence Mr. Wilson was laboring to maintain American rights and international law.

Thus at one time the Germans became utterly contemptuous of the whole American government and people and were convinced that there was complete immunity in any course, and the American people, increasingly angered by each incident, moved equally surely toward the point where they believed that it was impossible to do business with Germany, that Germany was determined to trample on

American rights, insult American officials and wantonly murder American citizens.

The crisis came when the Arabic incident fired American public anger to the demand that all futile negotiations end. Patience among the citizens if not in the Administration, had been exhausted. We were now on the point of being dragged into war not because of any honorable consideration but because an administration swayed by fear, politics and ignorance of diplomatic procedure had involved the country in a hopeless mess.

To have gone to war after the Lusitania was to have gone to war honorably. Those who believe war wicked at all time would not have approved of such a course. But they would not be more reconciled now. On the other hand, some thousands or millions of Americans would have borne their part willingly at the thought that their country was to take the field in defence of international law and for the protection of humanity.

But to go to war after the Arabic was to fight like a rat in a corner, after six months of trying had failed to disclose a way of escape. It was to fight after all the respect of the world, German and anti-German, had been sacrificed to concerns of domestic politics. It was to fight because the war had become the cre way now that the Administration could hope to escape the consequences of its folly by appealing to the patriotism of a nation actually at war.

Such a course seemed and seems to THE Tribune indefensible. True, if the Germans continue to sink ships we shall get into a war. From this there is no possible escape. But at the present time the German government is showing an apparently honest desire to meet the demands of American sentiment. It is disclosing signs that it realizes that it is dealing with the American people, who will not endure further murder. And up to this time the German government has had no reason to believe that there would be any real protest, any effective action by this country in any event.

THE Tribune has never for a moment held any view of the German action in sinking the Lusitania save that which it affirmed at the time. Its horror, detestation, contempt, remain. But you can't talk about the murder of your citizens for four months and then suddenly lose your temper and go to war. The country has been humiliated in the eyes of the world and the Germans were justified after the Lusitania in treating with utter contempt a nation which would talk endlessly and act never. The fault for the subsequent German incidents is not chargeable to Berlin but Washington.

American history records no more humiliating, no more contemptible affair than that of the German-American difference. The President boldly affirmed his intention of defending not alone American rights but neutral rights, not alone international law but humanity. He never meant to do it, and when the necessity arose he fled the issue, he dodged the responsibility, he repudiated the pledge. The American citizens who went on board the Lusitania went there armed with the recent declaration of the President holding Germany to strict accountability for any wrong done to American citizens.

Four months after these men, women and children had been scattered over the seas, helpless victims of German ruthlessness, Mr. Wilson was still ready to write notes. More lives had been lost, more American citizens had been placed in jeopardy, but what was all this compared with the political perils and the hostility of the pro-German propagandists?

Our neighbor "The World" recently pointed out, with justice and admirable fitness, the fashion in which a similar policy followed by Buchanan had brought the Civil War upon the nation. The North believed the South was only talking. The South believed that the North was "too proud to fight." The end was inescapable. It is inescapable now unless the Germans actually desire to avoid a war with us. If they do they will meet us on a possible basis. We have no business now to attempt to threaten them or render still more difficult the task they have with their own people, who are fully and naturally convinced from past incidents that there is no danger of war with us. Yet last week exactly this sort of provocative talk emanated daily from the White House, not from the President, but from those who could speak for him and have their words accepted.

Mr. Wilson's German policy has been a sham from start to finish. It has nearly involved us in a war because the American people believed it was sincere while the Germans knew it was utterly insincere. It may yet involve us in a war because the American people are now resolved to make it real and the German people may still be convinced that it is as insincere as it was when the "strict accountability" note was written in February. Believing it to be sincere, THE Tribune supported Mr. Wilson's policy until it discovered the fact. Now, it can only tell the truth as it sees it.

"The Republicans cannot throw off the influence of Senator Root and William Barnes," declares Victor Murdock. The Constitutional Convention showed that William Barnes's influence was almost a minus quantity and that Mr. Root's was not the brand with which this State wishes to dispense.

Those Missouri bandits who escaped pursuers by paddling for miles through the abandoned shafts and galleries of zinc mines have surpassed even the exploits of Jesse James.

Mr. George B. McClellan says, "When this country goes into a fight it goes in for all it is worth." He may not have been thinking of Vera Cruz.

Ford to talk of submarines.—Headline. And why not "of ships and shoes and sealing wax and cabbages and kings"?

The jokesmiths are after Hoax Smith.

MR. WILSON'S POSITION

Laboring Zealously and Deserving the Nation's Complete Respect.

To the Editor of THE Tribune.
Sir: Your discussions of the war situation have entertained me much, but I cannot understand your radical departure in the last few issues of THE Tribune. Certainly I cannot agree to much that you say, because you do not use the simplest manner in stating your position.

In today's editorial you undertake to "jolly" the German situation and are radical in your dealing with satire. Your attitude is almost untenable, and I don't believe that future results from the Wilson policies will bear you out in the position you are now taking. It is foolish, from the viewpoint, to intimate that Germany has never considered Mr. Wilson's notes seriously, and I cannot, by any stretch of imagination, conceive of your right to make this assertion. I do not believe that the President would stultify himself in the manner you describe. If it were true that he has permitted any statement to go out to the German government as "official" from his administration that he was simply playing for delay, and that he did not mean anything contained in his notes, he would be unworthy of the confidence of the American people and should be written down as not half a man. I feel quite confident that Mr. Wilson is not playing for war, and I feel equally confident that we will not have one with Germany.

To the average man on the outside who knows nothing about the secret workings of diplomacy, and yet who gives thoughtful consideration to public affairs, there has been no hinting or suggestion from any source that would lead me to believe that we are on the eve of war. The worst course that has come upon our country is newspaper agitation. The editors of the country know about as little of what is taking place diplomatically as a lot of monkeys, nothing more. But this is one of the boisterous and disappointing of the current system of conducting diplomatic affairs. The people should conduct, or at least know what is being done with regard to, our diplomatic relations. But the newspapers foment strife, because they do not know any better. Most editors are not liberal enough in their own views to think they could be wrong in their opinions, hence are given to a species of conceit which is painful as well as harmful.

You assert in your to-day's editorial that Germany is now waking up because she understands that she is dealing with the American people and not the Wilson administration. If Mr. Wilson does not represent the American people he does not represent anything at all, and should step down and out; but it seems to me that a man who is as willing to labor as unselfishly in a cause he believes to be right as he has done, and as he is doing, deserves not only the fullest confidence of every man but the highest respect and esteem for his zealous labors. He is not infallible, but no living man in his shoes would have made as few tactical blunders as he has done.

I see nothing whatever in the administration's policy that should give you license to say all you did to-day against it. You do not add anything to the dignity of journalism by your present attack. It is not big and broad, as you have been in the past. Mere partisanship at this time is ridiculous. I feel quite sure that the future historian will place President Wilson upon a very high pinnacle, and future generations will have to lift their eyes high toward heaven to catch his summit. Mr. Wilson is just the man needed in this period through which we are passing, which is a most trying one and one of the worst which has ever befallen any one country to master. If the genius and ability of a man like the President cannot cover the situation, what can you expect of a man who can't? He will take care of the country. Your foolish agitation is very, very discouraging in this great crisis.

CHARLES THOMAS LOGAN.
New York, Sept. 17, 1915.

The President's Leadership.

To the Editor of THE Tribune.
Sir: Your editorial "Give Germany a Chance," in to-day's issue, will help establish Woodrow Wilson's prestige as a great statesman and a truly great President in the minds of all people when we see the dawn of a better day. In dealing with nations who are apparently bereft of reason we are fortunate indeed in having a President of the type of Woodrow Wilson. A safe and sane mind, waiting for the moment to arrive to help bind up the wounds of the stricken countries when they recover their senses. No government in its true senses will sanction the destruction of innocent lives. The Lusitania incident will be known and its every phase discussed at the proper time. That is impossible now. War could not alter the circumstances connected with that awful occurrence.

Calm yourself, Mr. Editor. We will not go to war now with the nations that are intoxicated with mad war intent. Rest your tired mind and go into the country and try to forget him alone. President Wilson is depending upon the great silent American public. The great silent, peace loving, thinking millions of people are lined up with him and his administration solidly. Do not make the burden more heavy. Americanize your newspaper and stand by the President and your country.

"THE Tribune was perfectly ready to see this country go honorably to war," etc.

With best wishes for future editorials that even children can read and relish and no more appeals to disorganized minds, believe me,
JOSEPH M. KERNAN.
New York, Sept. 17, 1915.

Keen Regret.

To the Editor of THE Tribune.
Sir: As one who has been for the past year an increasing regular reader of THE Tribune, and who has especially appreciated the fine self-restraint, loyalty and non-partisanship shown by it in discussing the foreign policy of the present administration, permit me to express my keen regret at your absurd and extravagant editorial of yesterday entitled "Give Germany a Chance."

To be asked to believe that Mr. Wilson is seeking to drag us into war "to save the shattered prestige of his administration" is nothing short of comic, while to be assured that "there is no reason to doubt the good faith of the ambassador or to fear that the result will be unfortunate," while reassuring, is to say the least, surprising. How then can we be in danger of being "dragged into conflict" simply because there has been no chance to run away?

Surely these incoherent paragraphs bristling with dark insinuations are not the work of THE Tribune's usual editorial leaders. Has the staff been held up at the point of a pistol by some outsider suffering from brainstorm?
M. B. SAYLES.
New York, Sept. 18, 1915.

THE EASIEST WAY—?



"GIVE GERMANY A CHANCE"

Opinions of Various Readers on The Tribune's Estimate of the Conduct of Foreign Affairs by the Present Administration.

To the Editor of THE Tribune.

Sir: Admitting the force of your recent discovery that Mr. Wilson has greatly deceived and secretly misrepresented the citizens of this country in his dealings with Germany and is therefore co-responsible with them for the present tension, there yet remains to be explained for what purpose Germany initiated her policy of baiting America. Your series of able analyses from Washington show us only why she did not desist after we officially told her to. The submarine atrocities, however, are only one phase of the situation. Is it not conceivable that all this is part and parcel of one greater plan conceived in the fall or winter of 1914 and set going visibly with the announcement of the war zone blockade in February?

To us who depend on the newspapers for our data it seemed that a new attitude toward this country arose and became manifest about this time. Since then it has been consistently, persistently, coming out from the mist to take shape as a definite entity whose form and purpose we can perhaps begin to discern. It is to be supposed that if the diplomats of the Central Empires had the true measure of Mr. Wilson's dual purpose and knew that America herself did not have it, and then deliberately proceeded to their course of action, disregarding our official communications, they must have foreseen clearly the final result. They must have known they were sitting on a keg of powder attached to a slow fuse. The fuse was lighted by the "strict accountability" note; the powder was public indignation in America. At any time they could have put out the fuse had they so desired or had it been worth while as part of their plan. That they did not put it out is chargeable only to diplomatic failure or to deliberate, purposeful, long-sighted policy.

In matters diplomatic apparent failure may mark actual success. To the man in the street who had read the rainbow papers of diplomatic Europe preceding the declarations of war it seems barely possible that the discarded envoys of the Teuton may in reality have made the sacrifice hits which will bring in the run they are working for. All we see at present is that they have been put out. Hypotheses become accepted theories when they explain the phenomena observed and are not contradicted by existing facts which they fail to explain. The Teutonic ambassadors are successful if they accomplish the purpose of their mission, whether or not they retain their stations in the doing. Dernburg was not a fool and Dumba is the most experienced man in European diplomacy. Would they be guilty of getting caught violating the rudiments of their profession if not with deliberate intention?

Assume for the moment that the Teutonic alliance, which is Germany, desires to engage us in the conflict. In the light of her manoeuvres, as shown by her correspondence as printed in the various Red, White and Blue books, how would she go about it? Her diplomacy, boiled down, is the essence of the art of "planning it on the other fellow." If she wants us to enter the war she also wants us to do the declaring thereof. To make a man or a nation fight where there is no desire to fight and yet to appear not to pick a quarrel calls for finesse. Always she must annoy and insult while loudly protesting herself the injured innocent. No one act must be sufficient to declare her guilty in the eyes of the world. Each act is important mainly in the light of what has gone before, when each act is justified, explained away or apologized for. When patience is finally exhausted and the rage thrown down the real aggressor appears the aggrieved and wronged. It is difficult, it is slow, but it is sure, and it is Teutonic.

If this be not her plan, how else may we explain the consistency of her "blunders" which have come through the medium of so many of her representatives—von Tirpitz, Dernburg, Dumba, von Bernstorff, Popen, Ridder, Vireck, Van Horne, Muentner and the rest? If this is her aim, is she not playing her hand with remarkable acumen? Would she be guilty of getting caught violating the rudiments of their profession if not with deliberate intention?
CONRAD SCHWEITZER.
Los Angeles, Sept. 13, 1915.

To the Editor of THE Tribune.

As for the main issue—why she should wish to see us numbered among her world of enemies—the explanation may or may not be satisfying without in the slightest degree discrediting the theory which explains the acts themselves. One sufficient reason, however, would be that, knowing herself defeated at the Marne, she knew herself to be facing elimination through the painful process of attrition in men and money. To her the war of conquest is over and a failure, and she is looking to the future. And it is a future which carries far different problems from those she expected to have to face or would have had to face had the result at the Marne been other than it was. Germany, unexpended, to live must be an industrial nation. Over the heads of her fighting armies she sees all around her destruction greater than her own, and she feels herself equal to the task of successful competition with her exhausted enemies when at last the war is done. But beyond the zone of war she sees the giant democracy feeding her enemies and quietly taking over the world markets for which she went to war and without which she cannot live.

The longer the war the greater her loss in the markets of the world and in industrial welfare at home and abroad. Our freedom from the burden makes us daily stronger and daily a greater menace to her eventual reclamation of lost markets. Neutral to the end, we would dominate the world financially and industrially for at least a generation. Involved in the war, we would by just as much cripple our commercial resources and become subject to the same disease that is weakening her and her present foes. Also, it may be reasoned, if ranged against her now we would materially shorten the war and hasten that inevitable day when she must yield the struggle with arms and resume the struggle of commerce.

If such is her purpose we are indeed proving a hard nut to crack. From any other nation she would have secured the desired ultimatum or declaration of war months ago. With us she sees she must go further. And she will do it. Another murder. Another explanation. Another insult. Another apology. It is not a pleasant prospect.
ALBERT WALTON.
Fall River, Mass., Sept. 17, 1915.

An Old Sailor's Sentiments.

To the Editor of THE Tribune.
Sir: Permit an old sailor to compliment and also thank you for your able American editorial in to-day's Tribune. It is in line with very many leaders of your valuable paper in this European war and is true from start to finish. "Give Germany a Chance" is the correct heading, too.

With all due respect to Mr. W. Wilson, he has certainly shown his lack of sincerity and good faith not only with Germany but with our next door neighbor, poor Mexico, as well as exposing his eagerness for a second term as President. To allow W. J. Bryan to assert that our remonstrances to Germany were meaningless was criminal, to put it mildly, and I, for one, a veteran of the Civil War and also the Spanish-American War, do not hesitate to say so most emphatically. You may rest assured that your paper is heartily endorsed by all right-minded Americans.
NAUTILUS.
New Brighton, Staten Island, Sept. 17, 1915.

Germany Has Our Measure.

To the Editor of THE Tribune.
Sir: No wonder Theodore Roosevelt went out of the country for a vacation. Some more of us feel like doing the same thing. Some of us even feel like quitting for good. The American nation is becoming typical of its national game—a great big football and with whisks. How the other fellows must smile at our "mushpot" characteristics. Germany and Austria seem to have taken our exact measure. It is sad! Awful sad! God pity us!
CONRAD SCHWEITZER.
Los Angeles, Sept. 13, 1915.

To the Editor of THE Tribune.

Sir: Please allow me to express my full and hearty agreement with every word of your two splendid editorials of to-day, "Give Germany a Chance" and "The Allied Credit Necessity." You have sized up the situation perfectly.

May I take this opportunity to ask if there is no way to prevent such abominable insults being offered to the United States by Germany and Austria as by means of advertisements like those that you mention to-day under the heading "Ad Menace Austria Workers with Death"?

These "Austrian" workers have voluntarily turned their backs upon the governments that now threaten them. They are now getting their living under the American flag. Is it possible that we are compelled to submit to having "ultimatums" addressed to people that have made this country their home by foreign despots? Truly, Americans of this generation are being treated to the witnessing of specimens of statesmanship that our forebears never dreamed of. There is some little consolation in knowing that neither we nor our descendants can ever see any worse.
W. H. WATTS.
Haledon, N. J., Sept. 17, 1915.

Give Him Another Chance!

To the Editor of THE Tribune.
Sir: As a daily reader of THE Tribune I should like to have you explain what you mean by your editorial of September 17, entitled "Give Germany a Chance." So far as I can make out you contend that since the administration did not declare war or adopt some other summary measure immediately after the Lusitania affair it has no right to protest or warn Germany in connection with infractions of international law by other submarine commanders since that incident. Your reason for this extraordinary stand seems to be that inasmuch as we are the Democratic administration has made as much of itself in the past you as a good Republican resent any effort it may make to "get credit" by firm action now.

Do I misunderstand your efforts to have Mr. Wilson regarded as a timid but safe-sailing "poltrone" as being due to an over-learned partisanship or to an honest desire to be patriotic? Of course, if you impute a lot of unworthy motives to the President and his advisers you may build up all sorts of dreadful suspicions upon and around such assumptions. But is that fair until you "give the President a chance"?

A. CORB.
Brooklyn, Sept. 17, 1915.

Our Talky Policy.

To the Editor of THE Tribune.
Sir: I fear that your cartoon of yesterday pictures but too well the effect, or lack of effect, of the "watchful waiting" talky policy of our government in the delinquent American citizens from the delinquent atrocious human game hunting ways of the German submarine. To be sure, we make some bluffs and bold statements which are supported by mere words. Then the German Ambassador administers a dose of soothing syrup to our State Department to quiet it, so that Germany may go on with its worse than practical murders of innocent children, helpless women and defenceless and unarmed men.
A. P. B.
New York, Sept. 18, 1915.

"The Humiliating Facts."

To the Editor of THE Tribune.
Sir: I want to commend your editorial "Give Germany a Chance" in yesterday's Tribune. It ably and concisely states the humiliating facts. The astonishing thing is that the American press has so long kept silent and has refrained from criticizing the dangerous course pursued by the administration in its heartless and insincere foreign policies in regard both in Mexico and the European war.
W. H. H. STOWELL.
Amherst, Mass., Sept. 18, 1915.